2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

have attributed it to the north-facing mountains which though richer in grass and timber are sorely stinted of the sun. 157

Whatever the difference is—racial, temperamental, religious, political, or climatic—it is too deep-seated to favour intermarriage. Only the royal houses, sprung from a common ancester—Alexander or another—frequently exchange princesses across the water. 582 643

Within Hunza the clans are all reckoned of equal status, but the clan of the Diramiting enjoys a considerable measure of prestige, and at communal ceremonies a Diramiting sets the pace or leads the dance. The story of their origin is interesting. There was once a clan of Tapkients who grew so bold and arrogant that their offences cried to heaven. They were reported to put bread to ignoble uses, they were known to address their mothers by the term *zizi*, which is the exclusive privilege of royal or saiyyid families, and they were haughty and stiff-necked towards their Mir. In vain the eldest royal son implored his father to "do something about it," and when the Mir refused to take suitable measures, the young prince impatiently laid his own schemes. A great gathering of all the clans was to be held on a nameless space of open desert where Aliábád now stands, and the Tapkients attended in full force. The prince plied them with strong *'araq*, and when they had well drunk fell upon them with his retainers and slew every man, boy, and male infant. He did not know that one of the Tapkients had allowed his wife to return to her own people for the birth of her first child. The posthumous infant was called Diram, and from him are sprung the Diramiting of to-day, who carry themselves without arrogance and do not call their mothers *zizi*. 614 173

Child marriages do not take place in Hunza, but a girl will rarely pass sixteen or a boy eighteen unwed. The parents seek out a house among some other clan—frequently a house with which marriage relationships already exist—where there is a potential mate of suitable age and standing, and negotiations proceed between the families. In theory the young folk are not consulted; but in practice, where children have romped and played and worked together there is no doubt that per- 584

584 sonal preferences carry weight. The business preliminaries include a small payment from the bridegroom's people in recognition of the fact that the bride's family have had the expense of rearing her and are about to lose her services, an interchange of gifts between the houses, and the provision
585 by the bride's father of an outfit for his daughter. In average peasant families a girl will bring to her new home three sets of every-day cotton clothes and caps, a winter cloak, a set of bedding, and for feast days an embroidered cap or two and a coloured scarf; possibly in addition an aluminium pot or iron bucket; details will vary in every individual case.

428 The laws of inheritance in Hunza show the same equitable
585 common sense as distinguishes the Burusho's other customs. A woman cannot inherit land, since only a man can tackle irrigation work, field making, and so forth. But if a girl is still unmarried when her father dies, it is her brothers' duty to see her adequately outfitted, dowried, and settled. Among the gifts that may accompany a girl are apricot trees; her father or brothers may settle on her the right to the fruit of one or more of the family trees. Our friends of No. 3, who were very straitened and possessed only mulberry trees, had fortunately the right to an apricot tree in Zénába's home garden. We saw Kaníza and her sisters coming home one day, all carrying shoulder-baskets piled high with golden apricots: "We've been to Báltít to gather the fruit of mother's tree," they told us, "and this isn't nearly all. There's shaking-down for two or three days more." When the father dies the family property is fairly divided between the sons, who either work it in common or if they prefer divide it up. Questions then arise as to how many poplars equal an apricot tree, or how many willow trees a wheat field, but the distribution rarely gives rise to quarrels, for the people are just-minded and at need will call in neighbours to adjudicate over knotty points.

428 One of their customs is particularly sane: if a father of
587 grown sons elects to marry again, he is free to do so, but in that case he must share the property as if he were himself a son; and a son by the second wife will only inherit a grandson's
587 share. If a woman is widowed young, she will in the natural

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

No. XXXIII.

Marriage Custom in Hunza.

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When a man proposes to get a wife for his son, and decides to enter into marriage-relationship with someone who has a daughter, he sends one of his own relations or a personal friend to the man's house as an intermediary to ask for his daughter. The delegate they call a "herangush."

The intermediary goes to the man's house and says to them politely: "Today such and such a man has sent me, in accordance with the command of God and the Prophet, to ask for your daughter for his son. He says: 'Give me your daughter for my son.'" That day the man gives the intermediary no promise to give him his daughter. He dismisses him saying: "Well we shall see what will happen."

The next day too the intermediary goes to the house and then the man promises to give him (the girl). The intermediary standing up says: "Bring me a dish (of flour)." When he has got them to bring it he himself sprinkles the girl with the flour. Then they consult together saying: "We shall celebrate the marriage on such and such a day, and on such and such a day we shall 'put on the griddle,' and on such and such a Friday we shall fetch the dishes (of food, from the Bridegroom's house)," and they betroth the girl to the youth.

šukuro pʃul hʌnik dišn — Friday i. e. the day before the marriage; all marriages being celebrated on Saturday. 585

From a note I gather that the *pʃul hʌnik* are taken from the bridegroom's house (presumably to the bride's) and contain: *dirampʃ·ti*, apricot oil and ghee; and that the bridegroom's representatives take with them (on their persons?) two sets of clothes, one of which is kept and the other sent back. 584

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

Ho gərər manotɛki dorčaɴ. Xamali.ər iˑ, šərbatər iˑ, qistaɴ iˑ. Aˑltó talɛčuqiŋ xamali.ɛr, tsindi čuqan šərbatər, gul kɛ ɛčukoˑnər doˑrčai.i. Ho saˑatər nobarɛn dˑau.u waščaɴ. Aˑltˑululo xamˑaličiŋ sukuˑyo dutsun daŋ oˑčaɴ. Hikulto qista očaɴ. Da čap dɛtsirčaɴ. Huyˑɛs waˑlto tsundo ǰuˑçaɴ. Da šərbat dɛtsirčaɴ.

Ho gəroˑni gatuŋ nˑɛˑɛtan, kurdi yaxtai.i nɛˑbil, baš'a nˑɛˑɛtan, tišk neˑəyan, hik nika biluˑmanɛ gatuŋ ˑɛˑəbiljai.i. Iriˑŋulo gampfuˑri ˑeˑəyaibaɴ. Ho roˑmɛ ɛčukoˑn haˑlər gati no haˑlɛ mɛl oˑmi bai.i, šapik uˑčai.i. Čɛstaˑdiŋ dutsun γərin nˑɛtan tamaša ɛčˑaɴ. Ho iˑlčumutsɛ itigaˑri (*or*, itigaˑr tali) burˑum da niˑlɛ tikumuts gəroˑni ɛčaɴ.

Ho sa pari.ɛn dyˑuˑasumər Thamuɛ hukum bila gəroˑni baman uyoˑn itɛ guntsulo mərakaˑr duˑišaˑn. Qadiˑmtsum miraˑs bila uyoˑntsum uyər mərakˑaˑr Diramatiŋɛ gəroˑni uyər diˑušaˑn. Ho ilji iski

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1 *manotɛki dorčaɴ* — These and the following supplies appear to be prepared by the Bridegroom's father. They are presumably those produced and consumed in the Bridegroom's house when the guests and the Bride and Groom have gone there after the conclusion of the actual marriage ceremony by the Akhund in the Bride's father's house. V. p. 304 l. 21.

i. — is probably the Corroborative Pronoun, "for the *xamali* itself" i. e. 'by itself, separately'.

2 *aˑlto talɛčoqiŋ* — a *čoq* or *čok* is said to be 12 seers i. e. 24 lbs. avoirdupois. So $2 \times 7 \times 24 = 336$ lbs.

Otherwise, a *talɛčoq* is said to be = 2 maunds
= 160 lbs.
in which case 2 *talɛčoq* = 320 lbs.

gul — i. e. *gul* as in l. 2 p. 298 and also in a note. Here glossed as "Bride's party" consisting no doubt of her family connections, corresponding to *ɛčukoˑn* the Bridegroom's "tribal brethren, the members of his tribe related to him". *saˑatər nobarɛn* i. e. 'the mullahs look for a (favourable) time for making them'. The day or days for holding marriages are, however, fixed by the Tham.

4 *daŋ oˑčaɴ* — a note says that "baking is carried on in both houses".

5 *ǰuˑçaɴ* — is here probably used in its special sense of 'slaughtering (with a view to eating)'. It here explains what meat they cook. The number of goats depends on the means of the household.

6 *tišk neˑəyan* — The dagger is stuck in the waistbelt at the left side.

7 *hik nika biluˑmanɛ* — glossed as "a once-married woman who has had a child", but it must be a 'once-married man', having regard to *ˑɛˑəbiljai.i*.

The phrase is interesting grammatically. The Bride, a note adds, is also dressed up and oil put on her hair, etc.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

Then they grind the *manotèki* (flour) for the wedding — for the *khamali* separately, for the *sherbat* separately, for the *qista* separately. He grinds two *talèchuqs* (= 336 lbs.) for the *khamali* and five *chuqs* (= 120 lbs.) for the *sherbat*, for the Bride's party and the tribal brethren of the Bridegroom. Then having made the (mullahs) look out an auspicious hour they put on the griddle. And they bring in the (female) relations and get them to bake the *khamali* for two days, and one day they make them bake the *qista*, and then they cook the meat. They slaughter four or five goats and they cook the *sherbat*.

Then they make the Bridegroom dress up and put on a cotton over-shirt and don a turban and carry a dagger. A man who has been once married helps him to dress up, and they make him take in his hand the ceremonial axe. Then he assembles his tribal brethren at the house and makes them drink wine and gives them bread, and they fetch the musicians and sing and amuse themselves (hold festival). Then they put white and blue spots round the Bridegroom's eyes.

When some time remains to sunset on the day ordained by the Tham they bring out all the bridegrooms to the public assembly. It is the custom from ancient times that they bring out the Dirāmiting bridegrooms first to the assembly before all the rest.

Both Bride and Groom have an ornament suspended at the cheek — the *gəre mojok* "marriage tassel" — which consists of a tassel with a pearl or piece of coral strung above it and above that a piece of mother-of-pearl.

The Bride's adorning is mentioned again on p. 304 l. 11.

9 *ɣərin* — the songs are in Shina.

10 *tikumats* — *nil* must be the genitive of *nil* 'indigo'.

A note says that white, red and blue spots are put round the sockets of the eyes, the object being to make the man look ugly and so protect him from the Evil Eye.

gəromi — originally written *gəromo*. I am not clear what it means here.

11 *gəromi* — is here and on p. 302 l. 2 used as the plural of *gəromo*, 'bride groom'.

12 *ite guntsulo* — cp. note to line 2. The Tham fixes a day on which all marriages must be celebrated, or two days if there are many.

13 *mərʌk'aw* — this is in front of the Fort at Baltit.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

in a low voice replies: "I am content." Three times he asks the Bride and three times he asks the Bridegroom whether they are content. Then, reciting the Khutba, he gives a little water in a cup first to the Bride who drinks a little, and what remains over he gives to the Bridegroom, who drinks it all down at a gulp.

They perform the marriage in the house of the Bride's father. For poor people in Hunza the bride-price is not large. It is twenty-four cubits of sized cotton cloth of which the price is five rupees. They fix the bride-price at five rupees. When the Thams marry among themselves the bride-price for them is very big. They fix (it at) a thousand rupees or five hundred rupees.

Then they go out to the Bridegroom's house. They make three or four sets of cotton clothes for the girl. They call them "Tosh Gatu" (the New Clothing). They put a veil (over her head) and they put earrings in her ears and fix a tassel on her cap and then they bring her out of her father's house. As they bring her out they sing bridal songs in her honour and the girl weeps, and her father and mother weep.

Then the girls, children and women collect and come (along with her) to the Bridegroom's house. When they have arrived at his door (his people) bring out *Tomal* (smoke of Syrian rue) and *Khamali* to them and the Bridegroom and Bride touch the hearth-stones (with their fingers) and kiss them, and taking each other by the hand they each simultaneously put a foot down inside the threshold in the house. The Bride, entering the house, first touches the hearth-stone with her fingers and kisses her fingers. Then they take the Bride and make her sit down at the upper end of the room at the foot of the main pillar of the house. They bring trays to the Bride's party and they eat food. When they have eaten they go off to their own houses.

17 *tsəriš wlo* — both must step over the threshold at the same moment. The one who may chance to step over first will be inferior. The hinder one's star will be "buland" i. e. he or she will be dominant. A sly man may push his bride over first.

18 *šutinate tsap ne . . .* — touching with the fingers and then kissing the fingers is a demonstration of respect. Here the Bride's thought is said to be: "God bless this house to me".

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when a child is one month old. Due to any one of many circumstances, it can be put off, but it is performed before the child becomes of school age in practically all cases.

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The Mir told me a case of a man who came from Murtazabad. He had gone away to Persia when he was just young and eventually returned to Hunza uncircumcised. Then he met a girl, fell in love and wanted to get married. Before the marriage ceremony could be performed, he had to allow himself to be circumcised. This, in a mature male can amount to major surgery and a long period of illness, pain and recovery.

Evidently circumcision has been proved beneficial to mankind because, from the information that I have received, it is now generally practiced throughout the Western world as well. It is unthinkable that any Mohammedan would take unto himself a wife before he had been circumcised. By law a man can marry at 15 and a woman, or should I say girl, when she is 9 years of age. Therefore it is almost compulsory that circumcision be performed before a male is 15.

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[584]

It is quite common for the parents to arrange for their children's marriages when quite young. That is, the parents betroth the children to each other even from the tender ages of childhood. Nowadays in Hunza the men marry between the ages of 19 and 21 and the girls from the ages of 13 to 15. Actually that isn't too far different from the custom in the West.

585

All marriages take place at one time of the year in Hunza—usually December 21st—and there must be snow on the ground on the Hunzan wedding day. Where the Mohammedan law runs in opposition to the Hunzan law, the Hunzan law invariably prevails.

[671]

586

Yes, there is divorce in Hunza, but it is very rare.

8:Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza
[P.41-D]

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[562] [5P4] MIR'S DAUGHTER, the Princess Nilofar, is spokesman for Hunza's women, who, despite public segregation and their low status, never are forced to marry against their will.

584 Marriages are not arranged against
586 the will of either party, and although
divorce is legally very easy for men
593 or women, it is not common. Women
are neither abused nor overworked,
and the mother is the respected chief
of the house, as the father is of the
[581] farm. Marriage does not encompass
[562] companionship as we know it: men
spend their spare time in the company
of other men, and women visit exclu-
562 sively with other women. They hold
535 their dances on separate threshing
floors a half-mile or so apart, on the
same night, and woe betide the eager
teen-age boy who dresses in his sister's
clothes and sneaks into a girls' dance.

262 At the time of the Tumushuling,
[296] and only then, Hunza families
[231] butcher a sheep or two; cold weather
[251] preserves the meat for the few days
before it is all eaten—and it is virtually
all eaten. Even the long bones are
cracked to extract the last marrow.
After this taste of meat, the winter of
the dietary year sets in. Gradually the
supply of carrots and potatoes fails,
then the wheat, the barley, the dried
[146] apricots, and the tea. By springtime
the poorer folk may eat only once in
two days. No one starves to death, but
no one has enough to stop hunger.

146 The regular Hunza diet has no fats,
no animal proteins, no vitamin A, no
vitamin D, a deficiency of vitamin B,
and a serious deficiency of calcium.
Apricots contain some sugar and vita-
min C, but the poorer families are un-
245 able to raise large crops. (The size
556 of apricot orchards determines a
man's wealth and status.) Hunzas use
372 every bit of the apricot, as they do of
824 the sheep. They cut the pits from the
fruits, crack them, and remove the al-
[412] mond-like nuts. The women hand-
grind these with stone mortars, then
squeeze the meal between a hand-stone
[354] and a flat rock to express the oil. Apri-
cot oil is fuel for the saucer-shaped
lamps that illuminate their homes, as
lamps of this type have done since the
824 Bronze Age. The oil is very bitter, na-
278 turally enough, because of its high
content of prussic acid, fifty drops of
which are said to be lethal in about
[273] four hours. Men add a few drops, as
[262] bitters, to their wine, and occasion-
ally a despondent woman takes a dose
in order to commit suicide.

164 Mild cases of rickets and scurvy
146 are rampant every spring—not enough
to kill, just enough to loosen teeth,
cause aching knees, and deform ribs

~~Sir~~ Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AU1 Afghanistan AU1~~
4 AV3 Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

D 584 B 584 Marriage is the occasion for much ceremony, which differs slightly in each locality. Though the young people often arrange a marriage between themselves, it is more usual for the match to be arranged by the parents. After determining by private negotiation the conditions of the match, the bridegroom's father proceeds to make a formal proposal. Dressed in his gayest clothes, and accompanied by his friend, he visits the bride's family, who are assembled to meet him, taking with him certain presents, such as a cow or sheep, beads, clothes, and a sword or gun. The formal demand for the bride having been made and assented to, an interchange of presents takes place. In Chitral, Wakhan, and Sirikol the bride has a bracelet of beads placed on her arm by the bridegroom's father. In Gilgit, cedar branches are burnt, and the bride's parents are presented with a knife, a rope, a few yards of cloth, and a leather bag for holding grain; the bridegroom's father receives in return some wool and a gourd. This interchange of gifts is apparently emblematical. In Torwal the price of the bride is paid over at this time, and the bridegroom's father is accompanied by men dressed as women, who dance and sport to the assembled company. In some places it is not etiquette for the bridegroom to be present.

D 585 B 585 The betrothal being completed, the marriage may not follow for some time, but it generally takes place within the following year. For convenience marriages generally take place in January and February. There is then no agricultural work to occupy the men, and the houses are well stored with meat. So firmly established is the custom in Nager, that a heavy fine is inflicted on marriages held at any other season.

The fixing of the day for the marriage now rests with the bridegroom's parents. After giving private notice, a smartly-dressed friend of the bridegroom is sent to announce formally that he will arrive on a certain day to claim his bride. Certain prescribed presents are interchanged on the occasion. On the appointed day the bridegroom, surrounded by his friends and equipped with bow, arrows, and battle axe, sets out for the bride's house. The bride remains in the inner apartments, dressed in her gayest clothes with a fillet of cowrie shells bound on her head. This decoration is said to have been introduced by the Shins, and is obligatory among them. On entering the house branches of cedar are burned in an iron dish and waved about over the bridegroom's head, and the party is sprinkled with flour. In Wakhan and Sirikol the bridegroom is met and sprinkled with flour